the woods. The Raleigh *News and Observer* noted that these people were "thoroughly subdued and frightened" as they filled every road leading from the town "loaded with packs . . . fleeing in the darkness to make their home elsewhere." Other refugees sought protection in the homes of friends and relatives as well as those of whites. Former slaves of the Newkirk family made their way to the outlying home of their former masters near modern-day Landfall. Family tradition in the Newkirk family holds that families of former slaves hid in the home's basement while the whites fed and protected them for as much as a week.[117]

The Reverend J. Allen Kirk of Wilmington's Central Baptist Church, protesting the atrocities against his fellow citizens, related that "thousands of women, children and men rushed to the swamps and there lay upon the earth in the cold to freeze and starve." Kirk hid his own wife and family in Pine Forest Cemetery, designated for black burials, even as he himself continued to move farther away from the fighting, spending time in Castle Haynes, 9 miles from the city.[118] Thomas Rivera, a black undertaker, realized that his life was in danger, and, although he was not slated for banishment by white leaders, he left and spent the night in Oakdale, white cemetery, until things quieted down.[119] Another minister, North Carolina native Reverend Charles S. Morris, gave a speech in January 1899 to the International Association of Colored Clergymen in Boston in which he recounted the horrors of the riot and recalled that thousands of women and children fled into the "darkness of the night, out under a gray and angry sky, from which [fell] a cold and bone-chilling rain" where he claimed that "crouching waist-deep in the icy waters of neighboring swamps . . . terrified women gave birth" to infants that died of exposure. Preaching to this audience, Morris was expressing for northern African Americans the horrors of white supremacy in order to mobilize their political clout to push for federal intervention in the South. [120]

Coup d'etat

While the city streets were filled with bloodshed, local leaders of the Democratic Party moved on their plans to retake control of the government. The Democratic Party was in control of the state legislature. Republican governor Russell, threatened with impeachment and death, was effectively silenced in a political minority. However, control of Wilmington's city government was still in the hands of the Republican Party and would remain that way until the next election, which would not

[117] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13,1898; Haywood Newkirk, telephone interview with LeRae Umfleet, March 31, 2006. There are a handful of black and white Newkirks in Wilmington in the 1897 and 1900 city directories and the 1900 census. Bryan Newkirk's will, dated April 2, 1863, listed his slaves by name. Some of the black Newkirks in the census and city directory bear those names. More research is needed to clarify the relationships between the white and black Newkirk residents of Wilmington, New Hanover County, and Pender County. Bryan Newkirk will, New Hanover County Wills, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[118] Kirk, *Statement of Facts*.

[119] Rivera was interviewed by Helen Edmonds on July 20, 1944, and his recollections can be found in her work. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 168-169.

[120] Morris was a southerner by birth and experienced the terror of white supremacy racism, but he probably was not living in Wilmington during the riot. The 1900 census shows that Morris, age 23, was living in Middlesex, Massachusetts and born in Kentucky, his wife was born in South Carolina and their 11 month old son was born in Massachusetts. Charles S. Morris, "The Wilmington Massacre" in *The Voice of Black America: Major Speeches by Negroes in the United States, 1797-1971,* ed., Phillip S. Foner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 604-607.